

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY VALLETTA
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S E C R E T GENEVA 4599
NOFORN

EO: 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG
SUBJ: CSCE: CONCLUSIONS REACHED BY EC-NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS
IN DUBLIN JUNE 16
RREF: A. GENEVA 4522, B. GENEVA 4582, C. GENEVA 4579
R D. GENEVA 4580
R1. SUMMARY: AN EC-NINE SOURCE WHO ASKED TO BE PROTECTED HAS NOW
PROVIDED US WITH FULL TEXT OF EC-NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS DECI-
SIONS RELATING TO CSCE REACHED IN DUBLIN ON JUNE 16. END SUMMARY.

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2. FOLLOW-UP:

A) THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS ACHIEVED A MINOR BREAKTHROUGH IN RESOLVING THIS KEY ISSUE OF TIMING OF THE SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING WHICH HAD SO FAR BLOCKED REVISION OF THE DANISH FOLLOW-UP TEXT (REFTEL A). EVIDENTLY AS RESULT OF FRENCH CONCESSIONS, THE 1977 DATE FOR THIS MEETING WAS RETAINED. HOWEVER, POLITICAL DIRECTORS DID ADD THE QUALIFICATION THAT THIS MEETING COULD NOT BE HELD BEFORE THE SECOND HALF OF 1977, TO PROVIDE FOR AN INTERMEDIARY PERIOD OF TWO TO TWO AND A HALF YEARS.

B) THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS FURTHER DECIDED THAT THE PREPARATORY MEETING ENVISAGED IN THE REVISED DANISH TEXT COULD BE CONVENED AT THE MOST TWO MONTHS BEFORE THE SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING, OR "ABOUT 24 MONTHS" AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF CSCE.

C) AS REGARDS THE SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING ITSELF, THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS AGREED WITH THE SUGGESTION OF THE EC-NINE HEADS OF DELEGATIONS (REFTEL A) THAT ITS DURATION SHOULD BE SPECIFICALLY LIMITED, WITHOUT SPECIFYING WHAT THOSE LIMITS SHOULD BE. HOWEVER, THEY ALSO AGREED TO AN IMPORTANT, IF MODEST NEW GESTURE IN THE DIRECTION OF CSCE CONTINUITY, BY ALLOWING THAT, IF THE "DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR WORK MADE THIS NECESSARY," THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING COULD BE SUSPENDED AND, WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE PARTICIPANTS, TAKEN UP AGAIN AT A LATER DATE. (COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THIS CONCESSION DOES NOT PROVIDE THE NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED WITH ANY ASSURANCE OF CONTINUITY BEYOND 1977, IT DOES PROVIDE A SMALL BUT PERHAPS IMPORTANT NEW LEVER FOR THEM WHICH THEY CAN USE TO WORK IN THAT DIRECTION.)

D) REGARDING EXPERTS MEETINGS, THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS CONCURRED IN THEIR DELEGATION HEADS' RECOMMENDATIONS THAT MAINTENANCE OF CONTROLS WAS "INDISPENSABLE," AND THEREFORE AGREED THAT THE CONVENING OF SUCH MEETINGS SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO CONSENSUS. HOWEVER, NO DECISION WAS MADE ON THE IDEA, PROPOSED BY THE EC-NINE DELEGATION HEADS (REFTEL A), OF NEGOTIATING A SPECIFIC LIST OF THE EXPERTS GROUPS TO BE CONVENED, WHICH MIGHT BE ANNEXED TO THE FINAL FOLLOW-UP TEXT.

E) COMMENT: THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS EVIDENTLY WORKED OUT A FINELY CALCULATED COMPROMISE ON FOLLOW-UP, INVOLVING THEIR AGREEMENT ON TIMING AND ON A NEW, IF VERY SLIGHT, NEGOTIATING LOOPHOLE WITH RESPECT TO CONTINUITY ON THE ONE HAND, FOR A FURTHER TIGHTENING UP OF THE TEXT ON OTHER SCORES. THE RESULT IS, NEVERTHELESS, A STEP FORWARD IN THAT IT SHOULD MAKE POSSIBLE EARLY INTRODUCTION OF A REVISION OF THE DANISH TEXT, WHICH COULD POSSIBLY BECOME THE

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BASIS FOR RESUMPTION OF INFORMAL AND FORMAL DISCUSSION IN THE FOLLOW-UP WORKING GROUP.

3. FINAL ACT: THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS DECIDED:

- A) THAT THE NINE COULD AGREE TO ONE SIGNATURE AT THE END OF ALL TEXTS (REFTEL B);
- B) AND TO THE ADDITION OF A PHRASE AT THE END OF THE FINAL ACT UNDERLINING ITS NON-JURIDICAL NATURE.

C) THEY FURTHER AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR THE COUNTRY CHAIRING THE NINE AT THE TIME OF SIGNING TO DO SO IN ITS DOUBLE CAPACITY, AND TO MAKE A DECLARATION ON BEHALF OF THE COMMUNITY.

4. MALTA: REGARDING THE CONTINUING MALTESE PROBLEM, THE DIRECTORS "TOOK NOTE WITH INTEREST" OF THEIR DELEGATION HEADS' SUGGESTION OF INCLUDING A REFERENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION TO THE "MULTILATERAL PROCESS STARTED BY THE CONFERENCE," AND UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER WESTERN NATIONS ON THIS QUESTION. (COMMENT: WE CONTINUE TO DOUBT WHETHER THIS WILL SATISFY MINOFF, IF HE DOES, INDEED DECIDE ON A CONFRONTATION).

5. CYPRUS: COMMENTING ON THE TURKISH DEMARCHE MADE ON THIS QUESTION, THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS NOTED THAT IT DID NOT SOLVE THEIR JURIDICAL PROBLEM, BUT THAT THIS WAS NOT A QUESTION OF CONCERN ONLY TO THE NINE. (SEE ALSO REFTEL D)

6. TIMING OF STAGE III: LASTLY, THE DIRECTORS RECOMMENDED THAT THE EC-NINE MINISTERS CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF STAGE III TIMING ON JUNE 24, IN LIGHT OF PROGRESS MADE ON KEY QUESTIONS SUCH AS THE FOLLOW-UP, CBM'S, THE POLITICAL FORMULATIONS IN THE PREAMBLE, AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE FINAL ACT. (SEE ALSO REFTEL C).DALE

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